596 carry on the yearly observances was regarded
769 as a major failure on the responsible male's part
842 and a tremendous catastrophe for the family. Concubinage and adoption were socially and legally sanctioned as means of providing sons, if marriage produced only daughters or no children at all. Because of the necessity of providing against a high death rate, the premium on sons resulted in over-population, only partly offset by a high rate of female infanticide.

562 Just as sex, age, and generation determined an individual's status within the family, so did these factors determine his behavior and position in the community and the world at large. An additional determinant of his standing was the status of his family in society.

Authority and dominance were the province of males. Women might, and occasionally did, exercise overt leadership. More frequently, they were the power behind the throne. Such cases were exceptional, however; in modern times at least, supremacy was neither desired by women nor readily admitted to when possessed.

888 Age was honored relatively ely.
561 Long life automatically gave its possessor higher standing in the community, but whatever age he attained, he was to show respect to his elders and members of an older generation. In the society of traditional China, age implied the accumulation of wisdom and experience vital to society in times of decision or crisis.

565 184 careers. The more adaptable have escaped the purges by cooperating with the Communist regime. In this connection the Communists have appointed a number of erstwhile influential industrialists to serve in the government; it may be merely a conciliatory gesture of the Communists to win the support of small business, but it does provide this class of people with one temporary alternative to their lost hope.

An additional factor in provoking dissatisfaction among the merchants is the control on foreign trade. Merchants in north China seaports like Tangku and Chinwangtao, who had high hopes when the Nationalist blockade sealed off the rival port of Shanghai, are disillusioned because virtually all foreign trade is now handled by the government. Their role has been reduced to merely conducting limited export transactions supervised by the government, and there is no prospect that they may be allowed to import those Western manufactured goods which are highly profitable.

V. WOMEN

184 562 The customary position of women in China is subordinate to that of men. This tradition was so deep-rooted that it took superhuman courage for the first women to claim their "rights"; and the pain of "emancipation" continues under the Communists.

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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184 To the "emancipated" belongs responsibility; this is at least theoretically true, and the Chinese women who have exchanged kitchen for factory are generally expected to have a degree of political consciousness and a love for labor similar to that of men of equal education and comparable environment. In many cases women prove to be even more "patriotic" than men as a result of the unprecedented government effort to show the women that they, too, can achieve enviable social recognition by a show of "patriotism" and devotion to labor.

How much improvement in the status of the women has been brought about by the Communists? Women are encouraged to participate in political activities and labor; more tangibly and closer to their daily life, they are given child care, adult education, and other welfare benefits if they join the working force. If the increase in number of women workers in factories can be taken as an indication of the women's own free choice, then women in Communist China may indeed feel favorably disposed toward the Communist regime. But upon closer observation this may not be the case; many women who undertook factory work after 1949 may have done so as a financial necessity rather than as a result of free choice.

The much-publicized marriage law in Communist China embodies nothing new, but its vigorous and often arbitrary enforcement is

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unprecedented. It has engendered mixed feelings among the women. Acceptance of this law will mean the destruction of some of the most stubborn traditions in China (See discussion of the marriage law in the chapter on The Family).

Some women hold high posts in government, and there are "labor heroines" in all industries. Housewives in larger cities manage to live in leisure if they belong to the high income group. Younger housewives in families of modest income may have to work outside the home, but there is no indication that they resent it. The age-group differential asserts itself in the reaction of women to the new regime; older women who had learned to live in peace with the extended family system are apt to dread the Communist effort to reduce the extended family to the conjugal family; young women are more likely to feel favorably disposed toward the Peking regime.

A sharp difference in attitude is to be observed between the women in Peking and those in the mountains of southeastern Shansi Province. City life, plus opportunity to receive education, had caused changes in attitudes among women in urban areas even before the Communists announced their policy with regard to women and their status in society; while most of the women in outlying villages remain more strictly tradition-bound and are less prepared to accept the ideas introduced by the Peking government.

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C. Federation of Democratic Women (FDW)

Women's position in society is such that not only do they constitute an important part of the labor force, but their influence is extended to the entire populace. For this reason, women's federations are regarded by the Communists as a political force, and are so organized as to reach all corners of society.

In the villages, women's federations participate most actively in all rural functions, and supply most of the activists in all movements. Their participation in agricultural production should be particularly mentioned. As of March 1950, women's participation in production in the "old liberated" areas in Hopei Province was estimated to represent up to 80 per cent of the female population; even in the "newly liberated" areas, women's participation scored 54 per cent.[47] By March 1955, their participation in the agricultural producers' co-operative was particularly cited. In 5,200 of the 7,000 producers co-operatives in Shansi Province, women were either managers or deputy managers.[48]

In the cities, women's federation teams are organized in the streets and alleys. They engage actively in urban inhabitants' committee work, and in carrying out propaganda among the female populace. During the Three-Anti Campaign in Peking, women activists formed one-half of all

47. Ibid, March 10, 1950, p. 1.
48. People's Daily, March 8, 1955, p.1.

665 the activists in the city. The Communist Party's
562 attempt to organize women factory workers was also assiduous. As of October 1950, 54 per cent of the women workers in Hopei had joined trade unions; in cities like Paoting and Shihchiachuang, the percentage went up to 90 per cent.[49] In other fields of activity, women's participation was also high. As of March 1950, 4,470 women cadre also worked in government agencies in Hopei. Their participation in the People's courts was particularly great. Twelve per cent of the presidents of People's courts in Shansi were women

665 D. Other Mass Organizations. There are in
668 the North China Region a number of other mass organizations with a strong influence on society. The All-China Federation of Democratic Youth has its representative offices in all key cities of this region. Its Tientsin office,[50] for example, was organized in January 1950. Branches of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles were also organized in all cities. However, the most popular organization among them all is the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Its Hopei branch[51] was officially organized in November 1950 with a membership of 350,000. In the North China Region as a whole,[52] the membership stood at 1,908,202 in April 1951, the highest of any region at that time.

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49. Hopei Daily, October 31, 1950, p. 2.
50. People's Daily, January 10, 1950, p.3.
51. Hopei Daily, Nov. 7, 1950, p. 1.
52. Ibid., April 15, 1951, p. 1.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

593 596 even pass to a brother rather than to a son on the death or retirement of the head of the family.

If a son is still young when he succeeds to the headship of the family someone of the older generation, often his mother or perhaps an uncle, who may have come to help the family, will act for him, but in his name, until he is older.

593 562 596 Some authorities say that a woman is never recognized as the head of a family, but in 211 cases, 4.0 per cent of the 5,255 families, a woman was listed as the head of the family. In the 515 families the proportion was smaller, only 1.2 per cent, but in six families in that group a woman was the recognized head.

593 596 If the different relatives are divided into four groups, parents, head of the family and his descendants, brothers and their dependents, and other relatives, we find that the family head, his immediate family, and direct descendants were some 82 per cent; brothers, both older and younger, their wives and descendants, some 12 per cent; the older generations, fathers, mothers, grandfathers, uncles, uncles' wives, some 5 per cent of the group. Other relatives were only some 0.2 per cent. The figures in Table 4, for three different groups of Ting Hsien families, are generally so similar that it seems probable that they are typical for Ting Hsien and the neighboring rural areas. As they are very similar to the division found by Buck[4] in his study of farm families in North China, it seems probable that they also are typical for the rural areas of North China.

The ages of the family heads in the 515 family group ranged from under 15 to over 80. Fifty-four per cent were between 30 and 49, while 32 per cent were between 50 and 69 years of age. Four per cent were over 70 years old. Three family heads were under 15 and 13 were under 20. The six female heads were all between 30 and 54 years of age.

Twenty per cent of the male family heads in the 5,255 families and 14.4 per cent in the 515 families were not married. Even though there were some family heads who were below 15 years of age and in the 515 families 17.5 per cent of the male heads were 60 years of age or older, it would seem that one in five and one in seven were high proportions to be without mates.

595 There were 22 concubines in the 5,255 families and eight in the 515 families.

4. Buck, *op. cit.*

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

while others are barely in the social periphery.[23] A careful observation would indicate the following factors as of special importance.

The most obvious factors are sex and age. Sex is a factor of division as well as union, as already hinted in a previous section. A grown-up male and a grown-up female meeting in the street are not very communicative to each other. Husbands and wives are not very communicative in public. There is no tabu on communication between the sexes, nevertheless they are shy with each other. Consequently, each is a mystery to the other.

There are no formal age-groupings in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but the adults are very reserved in front of children. While children are very communicative when they are left alone, before their elders they too are quiet and non-communicative. Under such circumstances, it is very difficult indeed for parents to understand the thoughts of their children.

Anthropologists have given special emphasis to kinship as a factor of social grouping.[24] In P'ing-chiao-tsun, one-third of the families belong to the H-clan. Their houses cluster together in one block and occupy the geographic center of the village.[25] All the H-clansmen are descendants of three brothers whose father's name has been forgotten. From these three brothers downward, there are altogether six generations. Only one individual who belongs to the third generation still survives. He is over eighty at the moment of writing. About half of the fourth generation is still living and members of the fifth generation are still in the twenties and thirties.

The school principal belongs to the fifth generation. The head of the *pao* belongs to the fourth generation. These two individuals

23 J. L. Moreno has initiated a very interesting and suggestive study in social preference and social grouping in Who Shall Survive? Nervous and Mental Disease Monography Series No. 58, Washington, 1934.

24 "Nothing gives more insight into the intimate nature of social organization than the mode of naming relatives, ..." — Notes and Queries on Anthropology, fifth edition, London, 1929, p. 66. "By kinship is meant that system of relationships between individuals in a society which is integrally connected with the recognition of biological connection by birth and procreation on the one hand, and of a legalized social union involving sex relations between two individuals on the other. Basically marriage and the production of children, themselves intimately related from the social point of view, are the two types of links in the kinship chain." — Raymond Firth, We, The Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia, London, 1936, p. 117.

25 A paper on the ecological structure of the village is in preparation.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

many daughters-in-law may complain of ill-treatment by their mothers-in-law, others enjoy a happy life because they have good-natured mothers-in-law.

While children are silent in the presence of their parents, they are seldom under close observation. When they are about to be beaten by their angry fathers, there are always the good-natured old women next-door to rescue them. Their cries call out for sympathy and their parents are always happy for them to be so stopped.

It is said that a girl should keep her chastity, but there are girls more sexually inclined. They lapse easily in spite of gossip and censure. When they are found out, their poor mothers and friends have to devise ways and means to cover up their acts and to protect them.

While an individual has to spend most of his life-time in his family, he has other associations temporary or permanent, formal or informal. Each individual tries to fit into the society in which he is born. He tries to have associations in accord with his temperament. He may fail but nevertheless he has to try out just the same.

Males seem to be more variegated than females. That they are so may be explained by the greater varieties in their associations and freedom in their movements. The chance to individuation lies in more associations. The rule seems to be that, other things being equal, the more memberships one has in groups, the more of an individual he becomes. The development of the self is in direct proportion with the development of human association and society.[32]

The village folks have their family, their friendly associations, their village, their town and, even more, their city. Those who are fortunate and ready to participate in their community and its many associations will in time find their life richer than those who fail to do so.[33]

Summary and Conclusions

It is the purpose of the present paper to reveal how the population of a village solves some of its more persistent problems in a cooperative manner. Altogether, major activities in relation to eight

32 Charles H. Cooley, **Human Nature and the Social Order**, New York, 1922; George H. Mead, **Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist**, Chicago, 1934.

33 C. H. Cooley, **Social Organization, A Study of the Larger Mind**, New York, 1925; R. M. MacIver, **Community, A Sociological Study**, London, 1924.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

875 consider 50 per cent of his salary as his actual income, for dur-
465 ing the year 1926-27 the teachers received on the whole only about one half of his pay. The former is adopted in Table 27.

Three of the teachers were holding concurrent posts as tutors in private families, thus receiving extra pay for their work. It is known that on account of the irregularity of payment of salaries, many teachers have been compelled to take up extra work in order to secure some additional income for a living.

875 4. Employment of the Family Members. In five of the
462 families there were, besides the teachers, other members engaged
562 in some gainful employment.

It is interesting to note that, in contrast with the married woman of the working families, that of the middle class families in China has but rarely pursued any profession. Of course, she is occupied with general housekeeping, which is by no means an easy job itself, and also sewing, as the clothes of all the members are generally cut and tailored at home; and the performance of these domestic duties no doubt constitutes a part of the income of the family, the exact value of which in terms of money is often impossible to state. But what is remarkable is that she is but seldom engaged in any gainful employment outside her home, even though there may be a necessity for her to do so. This, it may be suggested, is mainly due to the following reasons. Firstly, a sense of importance or social superiority is often assumed by the married woman of the middle class, because belonging to a higher social class means that she has become a *tai-tai* (lady) and not an ordinary woman, and consequently it would be below her dignity to do such handicraft work as the women of the working families often occupy themselves with. It may perhaps be considered as one of the features which characterizes all civilized societies that the higher the social status of a family, the more leisurely life the woman of that family leads or ought to lead. If women as producers are mainly found in the so-called lower classes, women as consumers who wantonly dissipate wealth created in sweat and blood usually constitute what

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

is called "society." Secondly, there are in China as yet still few careers that are open to women. The few professions that women may pursue such as nursing, teaching, medicine, and literary work, are developed but very recently and have not yet provided sufficient attraction to them, even after their marriage. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the training offered by the small number of schools and colleges in this country is often found inadequate for the woman to lead a professional life.

While these considerations are, on the whole, true, one must, however, not conclude that all women of the comfortable families in China are of the leisure class. In particular, the wife of the teacher often has a very hard time at home. None of the families investigated kept any servant and housekeeping in China sadly needs many of the facilities that are found in the West. Considering the volume of work a housewife has to attend to, from cooking and cleaning to laundering and tailoring, her time must be fully occupied all day long. Add to this her manifold duties as a mother, we shall then be able to realize the busy life of the teacher's wife.

Parenthetically one may perhaps be allowed to make this generalization regarding the future of the middle-class woman. With the economic pressure steadily setting in, she will have to emerge from her home and earn a living outside, while the development of educational facilities and the utilization of modern time-saving contrivances in housekeeping will certainly enable her to become an efficient worker in various fields of activities.

FAMILY INCOMES

The incomes of the twelve families[1] may be summarized as in Table 27. The average family income of the elementary school teacher amounted to $56.39 per month.

It should be admitted that Table 27 does not represent the actual conditions of the teachers' incomes, for, as has been noted, many of the items were merely nominal. In order to get a better

[1] [i.e., the sample teacher's family recorded--Analyst]